

Campus Radio Against Conflict: The Case Study in The University of Peshawar

Syed Irfan Ashraf¹
syedirfanashraf@gmail.com

Abstract: This study deals with the role of Campus Radio (CR) of Peshawar University in Pakistan both to on campus community and off campus community related to the cases following the 9/11 such as terror and incident toward the cause of the ousted Afghan Taliban militant. The study uses qualitative research method to provide relevant information based on the actual participation, observations, and direct interviews of the researcher. Pashto language programs overcome the rupture caused by terrorism through suturing the past to the present. This “linking strategy” provides cathartic opening for the off-campus community, helping them to question temporal realities-radicalism and terrorism.

Keywords: Campus radio, Peshawar university, conflict, qualitative method

Abstrak: Studi ini membahas peran Radio Kampus, Universitas Peshawar, Pakistan bagi komunitas di dalam dan komunitas di luar kampus terkait dengan insiden tergulingnya militan Afghanistan dan kasus-kasus teror setelah peristiwa serangan 9/11. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif untuk memberikan informasi yang relevan berdasarkan partisipasi langsung, pengamatan, dan wawancara. Hasil penelitian ini menyatakan bahwa program bahasa Pashto menyelesaikan problem yang disebabkan oleh terorisme melalui menghubungkan masa lalu dengan masa kini, yang disebut dengan “linking strategy”. Strategi ini memberikan ruang katarsis bagi masyarakat luar kampus, serta membantu mereka untuk mengkritisi realitas radikalisme dan terorisme yang ada.

Kata Kunci: Radio kampus, Universitas Peshawar, konflik, metode kualitatif

¹ Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Peshawar, Pakistan

Introduction

In 2003, Campus Radio (CR from hereafter) in the University of Peshawar was launched in order to cater to the educational needs of the students in particular and on-campus residents in general. Situated on the edges of the Federally Administered Tribal Area (*FATA*)—a semi autonomous buffer zone on the Pak-Afghan western borders—and serving for the last about 60 years in the heartland of provincial capital of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (*KPK*) province, the University of Peshawar is situated 35 km away from the border of Afghanistan. In 1979 the Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan following which Pakistan readily offered the US its resources to defeat the Soviets. In this confrontation *FATA* was used as a springboard for launching militants to fight across the border. After Soviet's withdrawal in 1989, however, residue of Afghan Jihad was left unattended. Consequentially, foreign militants, including al-Qaida operatives, increased their influence in Peshawar particularly and in whole of the *KPK* in general.

Following the 9/11 attacks, the US invaded Afghanistan in 2011. Once again *FATA* and *KPK* (called Pashtun belt from hereafter) became a hub of religious militancy. Sympathetic to the cause of the ousted Afghan Taliban militants, students of religious seminaries from all over Pakistan, and even from abroad, thronged the area to fight against the US-led Nato forces. Thousands have been killed so far in the unending terror attacks. Progressive values in Pashtun belt are on the receiving end. The right-wing militia called Pakistani Taliban has issued edict declaring music anti-Islamic following which local singers and musicians fled the area. No notable incident of terror has been reported yet that led some to look upon the university as an island of peace in a sea of turmoil. But unrelenting tension in people living just outside the Peshawar University (off-campus community) is so pervasive that on-campus students in Peshawar University are not immune from it.

Drawing from a model devised by Castells-Talens (2010) who studied a network of Indigenous-Language Radio and challenges to alternative media in Mexico, I am conducting in-depth interviews with staffers of the CR to explore (a) what priorities do the radio staffers

take into consideration before deciding contents for the radio operating in the threatening conflict zone and, (b), to know if off-campus troubled community is part of the CR broadcast priorities in any way? and (c) what role does the CR play in connecting to the troubled off-campus community?

This paper divided into three sections. First section deals with the definition of community media: to get understand theoretically where to place community media in the broader context of alternative media. In the second section it will be explained what makes community media different from commercial media? The next section explains profile, programs and objectives of the CR and will try to examine its connection with the off-campus world. After all, CR broadcast is not limited to on-campus community only. Outside the two-kilometer campus of the Peshawar University, broadcast of the station could be heard in 30 km radius, to help knowing where the off-campus community stands in on-campus priorities.

Campus Radio: A Profile

Being the oldest public sector university in *KPK*, Peshawar University accommodates more than 30,000 people, including 18,944 students. In 2002 the Government of Pakistan liberalized airwaves to permit private sector's investment in media sector. To avail the opportunity, the Journalism and Mass Communication (*JMC*) department of the university set up in 2003 a studio followed by the installation of a 300-watt transmitter. With the financial and technical assistance of Fredric Ebert sifting (*FES*), Voice of Germany (*VoG*), Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation (*PBC*) and Pakistan Telecommunication Limited (*PTCL*), a three-hour test transmission was launched, followed by the setting up of the Media Training and Research Center (*MTRC*). The center was meant to train university students in making broadcast programs. In March 2004 the Pakistan Electronics Media Regulatory Authority (*PEMRA*) allocated Campus Radio a frequency to formally start its own transmission.

The Objectives of the CR are : 1) To provide students hands-on communication skills to help them prepare for the job market and, 2) To mobilize teachers and experts to articulate views on crucial issues of educational importance. As per the license requirements, Campus Radio cannot run advertisements and political discussions of contentious nature. Operational activities are kept flexible to encourage students from other departments. Patron-in-chief [Vice Chancellor of the University] is ceremonial head of the project, while three permanent staff members supervise the radio's daily schedule. Those students who get training in the CR change from time to time in keeping with the traditions of community media.

At present the Campus Radio transmission consists of six hours daily broadcast in three languages i.e., English, Urdu and the local Pashto. This broadcast goes on air in two spells i.e. from 11 Am to 1 Pm and from 3 Pm to 6 Pm. Programs are re-broadcasted at night supported by back-to-back music [In this segment English and Urdu music is also played along with Pashto language music]. Programs are mainly live but some are also recorded. As part of two-month internship program, students opting for broadcast as their major subject in the *JMC* are required to produce at least 10 programs in the *MTRC* held every three months. Held every three months, review Committee Meetings (*RCM*) of the Campus Radio is mainly attended by faculty members. The *RCM* monitor progress of the radio operations, monitor and evaluates the *MTRC* productivity and keep track of the policy issues.

Community Media and Alternative Communication

After studying 25 state owned community radio stations, Castells-Talens (2010:124) denotes challenges to alternative media in Mexico. Initially, according to Castells-Talens (2004:254) the government's "romanticized idea of assimilating Mexican indigenous community made the radios doubtful in public eye. The community considered these radios a "tool of propaganda". Such doubts, however, dissipated once the staffers made a flexible use of the official broadcast policy. "Indigenous stations have to accept some imposed decisions,

but at the same time they know that they can break and bend the rules (Castells-Talens 2010:266). When Castells-Talens (2010:268) asked a staffer if he is an official propaganda tool or he operates a guerrilla station, the staffer replied, “We are both. This adjustment made Mexican alternative media a victim of “binary oppositions such as media for domination versus media for liberation” (Castells-Talens, 2010:250). This refers to routine tension in troubled areas between community and the state, where the former stands for indigenous interests while the latter needs control. Studying scores of community radio projects in different volatile localities of Colombia, Rodriguez (2011:33) argues, “citizens’ media” projects “serve as an alternative to a cultural environment that sanctions sectarian sensibilities, intolerance of difference, and the use of force ”. Rodriguez (2011:96) refers to the Colombia-based community media project called Communications Collective of Montes de Maria as one example of citizen media, which “operates a media school, allowing students to learn radio, television, and video production, and more importantly a different ethos of peace” . Formed in 1994 in the militancy-hit area of Montes de Maria area, the Collective was the outcome of group efforts launched by some local youngsters. Belonging to diverse professional background, they “made it their habit to spend their evenings in the park talking politics and poetry or just shooting the breeze” (Rodriguez, 2011: 93).

After looking into the two different examples in the Latin American context, do we need to restrict community media to Rodriguez’s (2011:31) model of citizens’ media or do we justify considering citizens’ media and community media two different forms of alternative media? Rodriguez believes that community media “comes in every style and form from banal replicas of commercial radio and television, to fascinating experiments in citizens’ media and participatory communication”. That is why community media, even if run as per strict government policy, need to be studied as a vital component of alternative media so that to help knowing their operations in broader sense.

Alternative Media: Product versus Process

James Curran (2003:232) argues, “Alternative media are usually started by journalists without business experience. They tend to concentrate on editorial content at the expense of marketing and promotion”. He said that we cannot ignore the most important point that “undercapitalization frequently undermines quality, and causing alternative ventures to be short lived. Financial weakness makes alternative media project vulnerable to official and commercial interests, where the fund-providing agency usually influences the program/broadcasts. Despite such weaknesses, the worth of community media lies in their contribution towards creating a community the strength of which lies in transformative and relational communication practices. Both make alternative media different from merely a message transformation. If commercial media reduces communication merely to a product, transformative interaction derives meanings out of mediated experience. With the help of imparting critical consciousness transformative practices turns communication into a process. “Each participant potentially provides creative resources for transforming existing practice (Pea, 1994:288).

In conflict scenario communication becomes more challenging. Also because what “is normal inside moves outside and that which is outside moves inside” (Rodriguez 2011:242). Amidst this maze of confusing reality the mass media job is not only to just focus on spot news coverage, which they usually do. As Rodriguez argues “we know all too well that most mainstream media privilege the reality of war images...citizens’ media can step in and produce the images and sounds that make the other reality more visible in public spheres”. Being part of alternative media, the transformative spirit of communication through citizen media constructs communal bonds and relations, not only between media and people, but also among people themselves. At times using media technologies, these citizens media counter isolation by designing communication processes that draw people out of the private into the public sphere.

Denizen and Lincoln (2005:3) argue that “Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world”. Qualitative interviews are known not only for having referential purpose (Briggs: 1986), but such interview also are appreciated mainly because they bear a relevant, truthful, and reliable relationship to empirical facts” (Lindlof and Taylor, 2011:173).

During January 2012, I conducted and subsequently transcribed seven in-depth interviews with only those CR staffers [included regular faculty and trainee students] who attended the CR editorial meetings on daily basis. Associated with the CR in different positions, all the interviewees in this study are ethnic Pashtun with two or more than two-year of CR experience. Three interviewees were former JMC students while the remaining still served in the CR at the time of interviews. The two sets of (those who left and those who are still serving) staffers were selected to record diverse temporal experience. Names, age and designation of the interviewees follow as: Campus Radio founder and ex-chairman of the JMC Shahjehan Sayyed, aged 59-years; Station Manager and permanent faculty member Ali Imran Bangash, aged 28-year; executive Producer and permanent faculty member Bakhtzaman, aged 32-year; outgoing news Editor Kashmala Khan, aged 25 [this office is usually run by a senior JMC student]; assistant Producer and outgoing student Wahid Khalil; Former presenter Zahid Ihsas, aged-34-year, who already have left the university after completing the two years degree in journalism. Sonia Bokhari, aged 32, who left the CR after working as presenter.

Ethical concerns for this study included the right to privacy and protection from harm for all involved. Lindlof and Taylor (2011:175) suggest that in a qualitative study everything becomes data. Therefore, the participants were given a clear statement of the aims of the research and how the information would be gathered and used. Because of the threatening nature of the interviews involving reporters' personal opinions about combatant sources [military and militants], the participants of the interview were given an option not to mention their names, if they want so. All the interviewees were informed if they did not want something to be recorded or used; it would be removed from all research documents, recordings, and notes. None of the interviewees expressed any reservation over publications of their names and views. All interviews were conducted inside the *JMC* building with the exception of one Skype interview with Zahid Ihsas.

This study makes use of the accepted standard of qualitative research—three early studies were that of Breed (1955), who interviewed journalists to understand newsroom operations, and Gans (1979), who observed specific newsroom routines and the study of Carter and Kodrich (2013) interviewing journalists at *El Paso Times* about their threatening working conditions. Qualitative research method in this study helps provide relevant information based on the actual participation, observations, and direct interviews of the researcher. Though not a regular attendee of the CR editorial meetings the researcher, as a faculty member at the *JMC*, is participant observer of the CR activities. It is pertinent to mention here that daily programs of the broadcast must carry written approval of the executive producer [faculty member] before they could be made part of the official run down. Despite working in hierarchical structure represented by station manager at the top, decision making at the CR is flexible. One of the staffers said, "Decisions about broadcast are reached in daily editorial meetings in which our senior staffers usually participate."

Findings

Based on the feedback from the off-campus listeners it is found that the staffers couldn't limit themselves just to represent "choices" and "priorities" of the on-campus community. With more focus on broadcasting programs in the local Pashtu language, the staffers gradually started to believe in the reciprocal value of their wider relationship with listeners. In other words what has vitally changed the staffers are their mounting belief in the scope of their broadcast. This understanding led them not just to welcome the off-campus community, but also to test the limits of the university's bureaucracy. While objectives of the broadcast to run educational broadcast still remained intact, implicit concerns of the off-campus staffers motivated the staffers to take explicit overtures. Since the staffers share Pashtun ethnicity with the off-campus community, therefore, ethnic affinity was the dominant energy behind the bondage. That is one reason why editorial meetings held in the relative peace of the on-campus environ plan such programs for the broadcast that could resonate well with the off-campus realities. Given the context, community making at the Campus Radio is the outcome of those daily practices, which connected staffers with the off-campus listeners.

Community-making practices: A telephone set installed outside the CR studio is a starting point for any kind of experiment in transformative and relational communication. Shahjehan Sayyed said, "listeners' feedback helps "our students" to produce entertainment broadcast especially "radio drama" and, therefore, "they (tribal youth) send us valuable suggestions." Meant exclusively for facilitating feedback during the broadcast hours, students sitting by the telephone are usually those trainee students who join the CR (as their first hands-on training job) hoping someday to become presenters.

Handling a telephone set for at least a month, each such student tries to learn how to work in an interactive communicative situation. Before connecting a caller inside the radio studio, every call is delayed at least for some 5 seconds. The purpose is to avoid what the staffers called “obscenity” or “foul language” coming from the outside. “But this does not mean that it happens often. In fact, “we are bound by the license rules in order to avoid the possibility of any mishap” said Sonia Bokhari.

In this process of telephonic gatekeeping, brief “encounters” with off-campus listeners bring together for staffers two types of experiences: initial mistakes in handling the feedback gives birth to stories that turn for staffers into source of laughter later” Ali Imran said. What really is exchanged (on phone) in tense rush hours or light relax moments is what the staffers called their ‘learning.’ The staffers believe that Informal chat with callers inculcate in them social consciousness about the harsh nature of life which people live outside the campus. More than that, this interaction brings staffers into a web of solidarity with callers. “What we call feedback is in fact such worries and hopes that invites strong feelings of solidarity from the staffers,” Ali Imran said.

But transformative communication is more than just a brief telephonic talk or chat. Of course, community participation is one of its significant components, but also vital is the community representation at the level of decision-making. The staffers believe they connect with their listeners in many different ways. More often young students are invited to have a visit of the CR. Listeners frequently send greeting cards and drop phone calls to mark their affiliation. Sometimes, regular listeners even insist on sending food, which they sometimes send without asking for staffers’ permission. The radio’s infrastructure is not restricted just for serving as a training facility. Quite often the CR staffers arrange formal training sessions for journalists, who belong to the outside community. Different organizations and professional bodies sponsor many such interactive activities. In other words the human bond created through brief telephonic chats does not end there. Exchange of informal visits and formal training sessions lead a staffer to call CR “a site of pilgrimage.”

Another staffer believes the CR “binds them in ‘extended family’ relationship with the out-side community.” One student Disk Jokey said, “We spend our quality time with the community and this is the major charm of our work.”

Kashmala Tariq said, “More significant for us is to listen to the outside community.” But this listening is not unchallenged. The off-campus feedback sometimes irritates the on-campus callers: the latter have to wait longer than usual before they could be taken on-air. The CR staffers, however, does not mind this estrangement. They believe whatever they do bind them in community making exercise. “We are not a profit making venture to get worried about revenue. I deal with callers cordially trying to convince them what really they mean for us” said Sonia Bokhari.

Popular Programs: Structure, Functions and Limitations

As a common denominator between the on-campus and off-campus communities, Pashto language programs serve as daily milieu of the CR broadcast. Since agriculture is the local economy’s mainstay, therefore, farming is what most of the people in off-campus community associate themselves with. After ‘hard’ labor in the fields, the traditional (communal) space called *Hujra* (guest room) is where people usually enjoy their evenings with friends. Music is considered vital aspect of such gatherings. “Rabab” and “*mangay*” are the two musical instruments the presence of which is essential in almost every *Hujra*. Due to religious militancy, however, this tradition is on the wane (Khan, 2012, March 3). The CR staffers use local language as a “strategy” to stay connected not only to off-campus community but, most importantly, also to contribute towards preservation of the local traditions. In other words the staffers believe in the reinvention of *Hujra* not only as an institution, but also as a mediated space. To this effect program formats of the broadcast are planned in which *dialogue* is prefer to *monologue*: usually two to three guests are invited to create a dialogical setting. “The tribal youngsters ask for songs of their choice; they also share their minds on the topic of the day; express their views on social problems like smoking, cleanliness, polio vaccination,

environment, various diseases and national/international days too (if any)” said Bakhtzaman.

Organizationally, every radio station has its own working structure that serves specific set of functions. Campus Radio Station is no exception. Most of its programs such as *Darechay*, *Qalam Qabila*, *Deen-o-Danish*, *Career Counseling*, *Adabi Chorzang* (see Appendix) are youth specific, and deal with local topics, broadcast in local Pashtu language, and engage local experts. Being young, according to the CR management, these experts mix well with student staffers. Giving example of a Pashtu music program *Adabi Ghorzang* [literary participation], Bakhtzaman said the program receives more feedback from the surrounding tribal belt than to say of its popularity among the on-campus listeners. Not all literary figures participating in such program belong to Peshawar University. To make it more acceptable to general listeners, more off-campus guests are encouraged to come and participate in the programs. Discussion on contemporary literary trends usually transcends ontological boundaries: literary traditions of the past are implored to understand what is lost in the present. For example one program in *Adabi Gorzang* was broadcast on a topic “*Tappa* in contemporary world.” *Tappa* is a popular literary genre of the traditional Pashtu poetry, which “consist of couplets; the first one consists of nine syllables and the second thirteen” (Shah, 2004, March 28).²

Invented by Pashtun women hundreds of years ago, *Tapa* represents romantic ethos imbued with a folk rendition. How the current phase of violence affects the local literary landscape in the vicinity of Peshawar University was the main theme of one of the *Adabi Gorzang* programs. In this episode, the presenter and his guest were engaged in a conversation that invited callers’ feedback from time to time. Theme of the discussion took a turn after the guest argues, “*Tappa* has evolved in a revisionist form to highlight the resisting spirit time.” In other words, old *Tappas* are revived while bearing new

² The format of *Tappa* in Pashtu literature consists of one full and one half verses. The author of such couplets is generally unknown mainly because *Tappa* is a folk genre.

resistance theme.³ Not the only broadcast in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province (KP), staffers at the CR, however, believes they have no competitors.⁴ This confidence is partly because, unlike other commercial broadcast, Campus Radio projects “soft trends” with focus on ‘injured’ traditions and values doe this mean that there is a nostalgia for the traditions and values that are now “injured” and the radio effectively gives voice to that nostalgia for the lost or partly lost world/traditions/values. Issues which people confronts on daily basis serve as its main subject matter. Bakhtzaman Khan argues, “Inspirational value of our entertainment programs lies in valuing local cultural capital.” Since militancy in *FATA* makes for commercial media difficult to access common people over there, the coverage of hard news resonated Pashtun land with violence mainly. Though technically restricted to 30 km radius, Campus Radio serves as an alternative mean of symbolic representation for those who live within frequency range of its broadcast. With such limitations and concerns in perspective, review Committee Meetings (RCM) consciously plans such broadcast that is meant for “engaging community.” “We don’t know how successful are our efforts, nor do we have any mechanism and resource to measure our effectiveness. But we have this belief to stand with our community” Imran added. “*Da Hawa Lur*” (daughter of eve) is one of our most popular programs inviting huge feedback to discuss issues confronting women. Sonia Bukhari, who presented this program for more than a year argues:

CR has been significant in changing the perception of the locality towards women. CR has been generous in offering opportunities to female broadcasters alike, which use to target other

³ One such revisionist *Tappa* says: Pass pa Hawa Rasha Janana (Oh! my beloved come through air) Laray Kosay Da Talibano Dakay Dena (Land is infested with Taliban fighters)

⁴ Two local radio stations working in the vicinity--one in Peshawar city and another in Khyber Agency--are mainly focused on music broadcast, while half a dozen foreign broadcast (including BBC and VoA) deal with current affairs. Since the US war on terror is fought in the vicinity of the Peshawar University, therefore, spot news is considered more important in current affairs broadcast.

women in the locality. We have many success stories. One of our programs changed the mind of a tribal family from Khyber Agency as they gave up their reluctant behavior to send their daughter to a nearby school, Sonia added.

So campus radio not only speaks in the language of tradition and values but it also intervenes to question some traditions that are detrimental or unjust to, for instance, women.

Like any community media outlet, campus radio is not without its shortcomings. In the initial years, the university administration was reasonably cooperative to release operational funds for the radio. But bureaucratic hurdles crept in soon. As the equipment got older, more repair funds do not easily come. Sometimes, the *UNHCR* and local *NGOs* extend their financial help to keep the broadcast going. In mid 2012 the CR equipment stopped working which resulted in halting broadcast for six months. “After spending one month, I left my internship incomplete due to this technical problem” said Hira Shah, a final year *JMC* student. Though restored later with university’s assistance, nevertheless, “seeking fund is always a challenge.”

Religious extremism and legal restraints

July 2008 is a year of critical importance in term of the rise in terror events in Peshawar. One major reason was the counter-terror operations, which the state carried out to eliminate militants’ hideouts in the Khyber Agency. Lying in close proximity to Peshawar University, not only off-campus community of CR listeners in Khyber Agency gravely affected because of the military operation but fear also griped those students and teachers who lived on the campus. Surprisingly, police arrested a *JMC* student on charges of a would-be-suicide (Daily Times, 2008, Nov. 19). This incident made *JMC* faculty extra cautious in broadcasting religious and progressive views. The broadcast, however, continued and so was the CR staffers belief in upholding “progressive values.”

The transformative role of communication is potentially threatening in nature: community media in this role strive to create parallel spaces in areas fragmented with violence. In a bid to involve

people in communicative activities, the transformative approach sometimes invites backlash: retrogressive forces usually strive to resist losing their power/control over people and chances are more that they react to kill progressive ideas. Already we have discussed the way militant Taliban discourage music which led artists and musicians to move out of the off-campus community (Khan, 2012, March 3). Campus Radio has not yet received direct threat mainly because its broadcast does not challenge militants' retrogressive ideology directly. Instead, the staffers focus on sports, culture, and entertainment represents a subtle way to "promote plurality of activities" which is a way to dilute radicalism. For example, programs such as *Sports Roundup* and *Qissa-e-Mukhtasar* (see Appendix) do not reduce current affairs merely to terrorism. Instead, such programs engage tribal youth by diverting their attention towards sports and creating awareness through traditional story telling techniques. But this does not mean that on-campus staffers are not aware of the radically charged outside scenario. Or they don't care what is happening outside the campus. "Self-censorship is hard to escape when listeners in their live chat ask questions such as: when would this terrorism ends?" Ali Imran said, adding, "but how can we restrict to two kilometers campus, when people in 30 kilometers radius want to listen to us." Every time a terror incident rocks Peshawar, Campus Radio feels its ripples. "When my mind works on deconstructing the moments in which the outside community wails over the death of there nears and dears, it becomes difficult to announce music segment" Sonia said. Such challenges make vital for the staffers to invite scholars who know off-campus sensitivities.

If terror is one example of a lurking threat, legal restrictions are another. Since Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) has allocated Campus Radio the license for educational purposes. Students and staffers are always careful of not stretching bureaucratic limits too far. The staffers interview only the visiting politicians who come for attending on-campus official events. In order to broadcast political interviews, the CR staff follows a written request faxed by the university's administration. "Sending our students for

covering high profile events becomes important to maintain cordial relations with the bureaucracy representing the Peshawar University” said Kashmala.

Conclusion

Campus Radio lacks a technical expertise and resources to measure off-campus feedback, but communication strategies situated in culturally sanctioned traditions and institutions such as *Hujra*, poetic traditions, and techniques of storytelling, which the staffers employ to reach out to wider listeners, can help analyze this deficiency. Accommodating off-campus feedback, incorporating feedback into broadcast planning, and engaging off-campus listeners are community-making activities that keep the staffers activated. More important here is to understand the staffers ethnic bonding with the off-campus community. Common language plays central role in strengthening this bonding. Benedict Anderson (2006:145) argues, “there is a special kind of contemporaneous community which language alone suggests--above all in the form of poetry and songs”. Since the staffers want to make strategic use of the local language (not just language, but also genres etc. in the language), therefore, they not only systematically plan broadcast (in terms of selecting the subject matter and mixing contents of their messages), but also use common language as what Brunsdon and Morley (1978:19) would call “linking strategy”. By linking the community’s turbulent present (terrorism) with selective fragments from their literary past (*Tappa*), the staffers add to a discursive understanding that taps on the nostalgic longing of the past. By invoking history (identity) to come to the help of ‘injured’ being (ontology), violence is resisted which otherwise overwhelms everyday life of the troubled community since “nationalism thinks in terms of historical destinies,” (Anderson, 2006:149). Therefore, to sum up this point, Pashto language programs overcome the rupture caused by terrorism through suturing the past to the present. This “linking strategy” provides cathartic opening for the off-campus community, helping them to question temporal realities--radicalism and terrorism.

With respect to the official policy on educational programs, the CR broadcast apparently defies what the station was originally launched for. But it is not difficult to understand that the rhetorical strategy of the Campus Radio falls in line with the counterinsurgency efforts of the state. In other words the absence of explicit official defiance and the presence of implicit urge for anti-radicalism are suggestive of the fact that the Campus Radio plays supportive role in achieving the officials purpose of “deradicalization” (Yusuf, 2008). Does it mean that the staffers’ use of the “extended family” metaphor for the off-campus community is what Castells-Talens called a “romanticized idea”? The answer of this question is complicated. Partly due to lack of data concerning callers’ feedback limits the scope of this study. Future research needs to focus on evaluating feedback mechanism in community radios so that to measure off-campus response to the on-campus broadcast. In the case of Campus Radio, however, we should not forget the absence of protest or any direct threat from the community side despite the Campus Radio’s focus on broadcasting progressive subject matter. The lack of opposition itself is one indication supporting the staffers assertion concerning public acceptance, at least. Credit partly goes to the CR radio staffers for encouraging community participation in the form of inviting feedback (argumentative engagement) which helps the broadcast to achieve its purpose without inciting violence (terrorism or community reaction).

Since the broadcast planning and top decision-making at the CR is reached without physically involving the off-campus community. Therefore, Rodriquez’s participatory citizen media model does not neatly fits into the framework Campus Radio works in. Even the Castells-Talens (2010) model is more neutral in its approach towards the community. This neutrality is absent in the CR case where staffers are dependent on bureaucratic approval for extending invitation to political representatives of the outside community. But such differences do not exclude Campus Radio not to be part of the vast community media model. On the contrary, study of the Campus Radio complicates understanding of Castells-Talens model by suggesting that character and characteristics of such non-profit models need not to be

studied from the perspective of what the staffers think or do. Instead, more important is the community feedback to know what they think about such radios and how do they rate their broadcast. In other words, community feedback, more than anything else, is central to the understanding of the operation and definition of community media.

Appendix

List of selective programs of campus radio

Darakhsah sitara: in this program outstanding and brilliant students of various departments are invited to the studio and interviewed. It is an exciting program which motivates students to work hard, this is a weekly program duration of which is from 10 to 15 minutes.

Talent hunt: in this program such students are invited to the studios that possess some extra quality like being a poet, artist, singer and writer. This is a weekly program duration of which is from 10 to 15 minutes.

Darechay: this is a weekly program, in which various problems faced by the students are highlighted. The responsible authorities and students are interviewed, duration of this program is 15 minutes.

Qissa-e-mukhtasar: this program is totally based on the human-interest stories. This program is produced on those students who are getting their education in hard situation, this program is also weekly with 15 minutes of duration.

Sports round up

This is an account of various activities, which has taken place in a week around the national and international sports. Its duration varies from 10 to 15 minutes.

Qalam qabila: this is a weekly program, in which the literary figures of the university are invited. Their Comments on different literary topics provide information on different literature.

Deen-o-danish: it is a religious program in which religious scholars are invited to the studio and they address the listeners about different Islamic

topics. The program is weekly with 10 to 15 minutes of duration.

University round up: in this programmed the curricular and co-curricular activities are broad coasted for the university community; this is a weekly program duration of which is from 10 to 15 minutes.

Campus clinic: in this program a doctor is invited to the studio to provide information to the listeners about different seasonal and viral diseases, this is weekly program with 15 minutes of duration.

Career counseling: a weekly program in which the listeners are given information regarding different fields. Professionals from various departments are interviewed and they talk about the nature and the scope of their subjects, duration of this program is 15 minutes.

Adabi ghorzang: adabi Ghorzang is a program in which the literacy figures of the university are invited, they comment on different literacy topics and provide thorough knowledge about these topics, poets are usually present some of their poetic pieces of work, duration of the program is 15 minutes.

Da hawa lur: a program aimed at needs and requirements of the women. Each program is based on a single issue and the next issue is determined on the feedback or suggestions received from the community concerned. This program in ten minutes long and broadcasted every Saturday.

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